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Independent Labour Party (Great Britain)

Decisions of the forty-second I.L.P. ...

London

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DECISIONS

OF THE FORTY-SECOND

I·L·P
Annual Conference

together with the Statement of

I·L·P POLICY

ENDORSED AT THE CONFERENCE

308
Z
Box 815

PRICE TWOPENCE

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
38 ST. BRIDE STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

DECISIONS OF THE 42nd I.L.P. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

THE following resolutions were adopted at the forty-second Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party, held under the Chairmanship of J. Maxton, M.P., at the Co-operative Hall, York, March 31st to April 3rd, 1934.

STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR.

This Conference pledges itself to oppose any Capitalist or Imperialist War. It protests against the policy of the National Government of increasing armaments and warns the workers of the futility of expecting the League of Nations, representing Capitalist Powers, to accomplish disarmament. Since, under Capitalism, war is inevitable, the Conference requests the N.A.C. to commence forthwith detailed preparations for war-resistance on the following lines :—

(*a*) Unconditional refusal to assist any government whatever in the prosecution of war except for the purpose of defending a Workers' Socialist Republic against Imperialist attacks ;

(*b*) Propaganda for the General Strike to render impossible the prosecution of any capitalist war ;

(*c*) The effort to use any favourable opportunity afforded by a war for the overthrow of the capitalist class and the ending of the system from which all modern wars spring ;

(*d*) The formation, in consultation with the National Council of the Anti-War Movement, of local Anti-War Councils to resist all threats of Capitalist War ;

(*e*) Active effort by I.L.P. Members of Parliament and of Local Authorities to expose and defeat the War Menace ;

(*f*) The formulation, after consultation with the Anti-War Movement, of a definite policy by which all active opponents of War could unitedly organise to defeat any Imperialist War.

This Conference urges all branches to engage actively in the building of an anti-war movement embracing the organised industrial workers' movement, capable of expressing the aims and interests of International Revolutionary Socialism.

STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM.

This Conference sends greetings to the Socialists and Communists in Germany and Austria, who are so heroically maintaining the struggle against Fascism. It expresses its deep admiration for the magnificent courage which the Austrian Socialists showed in resisting the Fascist tyranny. It pledges the membership of the I.L.P. to maintain the struggle, in common with the revolutionary Socialists of all countries, until the power of Capitalism and Fascism has been overthrown everywhere and the workers of all lands are able to join with the workers of Soviet Russia in the task of constructing the new Socialist Society.

DEPORTATION OF GERMAN SOCIALIST YOUTH.

This Conference emphatically protests against the action of the Dutch Authorities in handing over to the Nazi Police the four German delegates to the recent Youth Revolutionary Socialist Conference at Laren.

It draws attention to the fact that all four delegates were refugees who had been driven to other countries by the Hitler terror and points out that if this precedent is followed no German refugees who maintain their opposition to the Nazi regime will be safe.

It calls upon working-class organisations to join in condemning this action, so that all Governments may be made aware of the strong feeling which exists in support of the liberty of the refugees.

CHARGES AGAINST POLLITT AND MANN.

This Conference strongly protests against the charge and arrest of Tom Mann and Harry Pollitt. This we consider to be an attack on freedom of speech ; an endeavour to curb the efforts of working-class representatives and a blow at all militant leaders of working-class organisations.

With us these two men have merely fought for the right of all men and women to live. This is not a crime and we call upon all of the working-class organisations to demand the immediate withdrawal of the charges.

NEW UNEMPLOYMENT BILL.

This Conference condemns the proposals of the National Government in the Unemployment Bill as a further brutal attack upon the present low standards of the working-class, by its continuation of the harsh and oppressive Means Test ; the meagre standards of unemployment benefit which it provides ; its maintenance of the Anomalies Act ; and its schemes for the enslavement of the unemployed in Training Camps, which its consequent threat to the present wages of those in employment.

The Conference demands the immediate withdrawal of the Bill and hereby pledges the membership of the I.L.P. to fight unceasingly to have the measure repealed and proposals carried into law which will secure full maintenance for everymember of theworking-class, including, as a step towards it, the immediate raising of the scale of unemployment benefit to £1 for an unemployed man or woman, 10/- for the wife of an unemployed man, and 5/- for each child, and to work in friendly co-operation with all class-conscious working-class organisations which are prepared to fight for this object.

The Conference endorses the demands carried at the recent National Congress of Employed and Unemployed and pledges the Party to full support of the campaign initiated by the Congress.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The objects of the I.L.P. in this respect are :—

1. To bring about the unification of all genuinely revolutionary sections of the working-class in one International ;
2. To secure international common action on immediate issues by all sections of the working-class.

In furtherance of the *first* of these objects the I.L.P. will continue :—

(*a*) To oppose the formation of a new International ;

(*b*) To associate with the Independent Revolutionary Parties with a view to influencing them to work for the establishment of an inclusive revolutionary International.

At the same time, despite the attitude of the E.C.C.I., which makes affiliation or sympathetic affiliation impossible under the present circumstances, the I.L.P. is ready to associate with the Communist International in all efforts

which, in the view of the I.L.P., further the revolutionary struggle of the workers.

In furtherance of the *second* object the I.L.P. will take every opportunity of approaching the two Internationals and all other sections of the working-class to urge united action against Fascism, War and Capitalist Attacks.

THE UNITED FRONT.

(*The following recommendation of the N.A.C. was endorsed.*)

The National Council of the I.L.P. wishes to further common working-class action on all issues, particularly among militant organisations, with a view to building up a united Revolutionary Socialist Movement.

After surveying the results of co-operation with the Communist Party during the last year, the N.A.C. recommends that the national co-operation of the two parties be based on specific objects as agreed upon by the representatives of the two parties from time to time.

Every section of the Movement will be required to carry out such a minimum basis of co-operation.

The N.A.C. recognises that the extent of co-operation beyond this minimum must depend upon local circumstances and leaves this to the discretion of the branches.

COMMON ACTION WITH WORKING-CLASS ORGANISATIONS.

This Conference realises that the I.L.P. can best be built up by gaining the confidence of the workers by active participation in the immediate struggle, and therefore the energetic participation in the day-to-day struggles of the working-class in co-operation with all other working-class organisations is part of the normal Party work.

CO-OPERATIVE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

(*The following recommendation of the N.A.C. was endorsed.*)

Members of the I.L.P. should maintain their membership of Co-operative Political Committees and Political Councils and seek to use their influence in these bodies to bring them into the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism, except where these bodies are specifically bound to support Labour Party or Co-operative Party activities.

CO-OPERATION WITH UNEMPLOYED ORGANISATIONS.

This Conference is of the opinion that branches should very carefully consider the possibility of working through T.U.C. unemployed associations, especially in those districts where the N.U.W.M. is non-existent or exists in name only. Branches should only take action after consultation with the Divisional Council.

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES.

This Conference recognises that it is the duty of Party members to be actively engaged inside the existing workers' industrial organisations. It therefore realises the importance of participating in the work of the Trade Unions. This work must aim at drawing the Trade Union Branches and other organs to which the rank-and-file have access away from the influence of bourgeois and parliamentarian influences ; and to assist the workers in using them for struggle against the bourgeoisie in co-operation with other workers' organisations. In this work, members of the Party must carefully demonstrate the extent to which

th: workers can benefit from T.U. activity, its limitations, and the need for lir king it with activity based on organisation around the unit of production.

For such work to be successful, all members must belong to the appropriate T U. Unless specially withdrawn for other work, they must attend regularly al Union meetings and encourage their fellow-workers to do likewise. The el ction of Party members and other reliable militants to T.U. positions of re sponsibility must be regarded as part of this work. Where the payment of the political levy is a condition of participation in political activities, members m ast pay the levy. In general, T.U. activities should include work directed at securing revision of T.U. rules to allow increased independent activity of the rank-and-file. The confidence of the workers in such activities must be won and the power of leadership to sabotage weakened. All T.U. work should aim at encouraging the building of factory organisation; the linking of these and the T.U. branches with other workers' organisations so that they gain in strength for struggle.

The work of the I.L.P. membership in the industrial field should be assisted by the formation of industrial groups in the branches, federations and divisions. Such industrial grouping must be regarded as an important development in the structure and effectiveness of the Party which must go side-by-side with the development of its work and influence in the industrial field.

TRADE UNION AND CO-OPERATIVE CANDIDATURES.

This Conference views with regret the failure of the Branches to co-operate with the N.A.C., the Divisional Councils and the Federations in rendering to such bodies the necessary information as to when a member of the Party is running for position in the Trade Union or Co-operative movements. Realising that such information in the possession of the bodies mentioned would help greatly in such candidates getting full support from the Party as a whole, we call upon the Branches to render full information if the I.L.P. is to pull its full weight in the Industrial and Co-operative side of working-class activity; furthermore, this Conference stresses the importance of Branches forwarding to the Divisional Council and Federations a record of the various organisations individual members belong to.

WORKING-CLASS RENTS.

That having regard to the effect of low wages and reduced unemployment benefit upon the ability of working-class tenants to pay rent, this Conference calls upon branches of the Party to be unceasing in their activities with regard to this aspect of the working-class struggle, in particular demanding the removal of the increase in rents of controlled houses, such activities to be directed at the moment to the setting up of a special Rents Section of Workers' Right Committees.

SUPERANNUATION.

Security is the first right of all workers, and should be guaranteed by the introduction of a general, non-contributory superannuation for all.

CONVENERS AND MAGISTRATES.

This Conference decides that all I.L.P. members of public authorities hold neither Magisterial position of Convener nor Sub-Convener of any Committee of said authority while the group is in a minority.

Note: This resolution was adopted on the understanding that the N.A.C. should prepare a clearer statement, and that, meanwhile, it should apply to Scotland.

"NEW BRITAIN" AND THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

This Conference declares that membership of the "New Britain" Movement and the Communist League is incompatible with membership of the I.L.P. and instructs the N.A.C. to take the necessary steps to enforce this in all localities.

I.L.P. GUILD OF YOUTH.

This Conference calls upon each individual branch of the Party to organise a Guild of Youth section.

PARTY DISCIPLINE.

This Conference strongly deprecates the action of members, branches and divisions contravening Annual Conference decisions, and in particular opposition to the united front, and calls on the N.A.C. in future to take all possible action to secure loyalty to Annual Conference decisions.

PARTY REORGANISATION.

1. The grants to the Divisional Councils shall cease from the beginning of the present financial year.

2. The Divisional Councils shall submit to the N.A.C. not later than the end of May (and to their Divisional Conferences after endorsement by the N.A.C.) schemes for their Divisions (which may include suggestions for changing Divisional areas) based upon effective District organisation and including the provision of the necessary funds.

3. The Head Office contribution of 2d. per member per month on full-rate members, with deductions on other rates, as at present, together with the quota payments, shall as a general rule be paid direct by branches in future to Head Office; but, in the event of arrangements being made for the branch fees and quotas to be collected within any Division, 15 per cent. shall be returned to the collecting organisation.

N.A.C. REORGANISATION.

The N.A.C. be reorganised on the following basis:—

1. To abandon existing permanent committees.

2. To appoint an Executive Committee, with full powers, of six or seven members, including the Chairman and Treasurer, which shall meet not less than once every six weeks.

3. To empower the E.C. to appoint some of their number who shall meet frequently and shall be responsible for the organisational work at the centre necessitated by the decisions of the E.C., within the policy laid down by Annual Conference and the N.A.C., and shall be empowered to take decisions on matters of emergency when time does not permit of the calling of the E.C.

4. This organisation of action can be done by building voluntary committees for this purpose under the leadership of these N.A.C. members.

5. The N.A.C. would appoint other sub-committees of its own members only for special purposes as occasion may arise.

6. The full N.A.C. shall meet not less than once every 12 weeks.

AUTHORITY TO AMEND RULES.

This Conference authorises the N.A.C. to make such amendments or alterations to the Rules as may be necessitated by the adoption of schemes by the N.A.C.

and the Divisions under this recommendation or by the adoption by Conference of the recommendations of the N.A.C. with regard to the constitution of the N.A.C. This authority shall include power to the N.A.C. to amend the rules governing arrangements for presentation of resolutions and delegations to Annual or Special Conferences ; constitution of Divisions and their representation on the N.A.C. ; fees payable to Head Office, Federations and Divisions ; and the reconstitution of the N.A.C.

REORGANISATION COMMISSION.

This Conference, recognising that the present machinery and organisation of the Party is not suitable for the needs of a party engaging in revolutionary struggle, instructs the N.A.C. to appoint a *Commission on Party Organisation* to consider what changes are necessary in order to bring the organisation of the Party into line with its declared revolutionary policy.

The Commission shall consider in particular what modifications are necessary in the structure and mode of working of the Party in order to ensure :

(*a*) The extension of the activities of the Party membership to include agitational activity in the workplace and street in addition to purely propagandist and electoral activity ;

(*b*) the swift and efficient execution of plans of activity on a national scale ;

(*c*) closer contact between Divisions and greater co-ordination of their activities ;

(*d*) the disciplined execution of agreed policy ;

(*e*) more adequate discussion and more precise formulation of Party policy, with the consequent revision of the procedure of Party and Divisional Conferences ;

(*f*) means of dealing with emergencies both nationally and locally ;

(*g*) adequate legal defence for any member involved through his or her activities under clause (*a*).

The Commission shall invite contributions from all Party members to the working out of these questions.

The Commission shall issue a Report, which shall be communicated to all Party Branches not later than 30th September, 1934. The Report on section (*g*) shall be communicated only to the N.A.C.

BY-ELECTION LEVY.

This Conference recommends the N.A.C. to alter the by-election levy and in place of 2/6 for 25 members or part thereof, this sum should be 5/-. On a similar ratio the other levies should be altered.

BRANCH QUOTA PAYMENTS.

The following shall be the basis for Branch Quota payments :—

	£	s.	d.
25 members or under	1	0	0
26 members to 50 members	2	0	0
51 members to 75 members	3	0	0
76 members to 100 members	5	0	0
Larger Branches	10	0	0

THE "NEW LEADER."

This Conference congratulates the "New Leader" Campaign Committee on the reorganisation of the Party's Journal. We are of the opinion that the paper expresses the voice of the Party more correctly than previously. The new method of distribution will tend to increase sales and reach a public hitherto not available. We wish to thank all those who have contributed to the great effort made, and on behalf of the Party tender our sincere appreciation. The Conference declares it to be a prime duty of all branches, federations, and divisions to co-operate energetically in securing the widest possible circulation for the "New Leader," and empowers the N.A.C. to secure the operation of this decision.

The Conference would deem it desirable to reduce the matter dealing with Party policy and activities and giving more space to propaganda articles.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

At Annual National Conference the limitation of the length of speeches shall operate from commencement of Conference, which time limit will also be applicable to fraternal greetings.

AMENDMENTS TO RULES.

Section 1, clause 1, paragraph 2, line 2 : After "determined by" insert "or in accordance with decisions of."

Section 1, clause 1, lines 6-7 : Delete "in the case of the National Section."

Section 1, clause 2, line 2 : After "determined by" insert "or in accordance with decisions of."

Section 1, clause 2, lines 9-10 : Delete "on the recommendation of the D.C., and" and substitute : "or take such other steps as may in the opinion of the N.A.C. be necessary to secure that the branch shall conform to the Constitution and Rules and policy of the Party in the future." Start new sentence with "Any."

Section 1, clause 3, line 3 : After "determined by" insert "or in accordance with decisions of."

Section 1, clause 8 : Delete whole clause.

Section 2, clause 5, line 5 : After "N.A.C." insert "in addition to all other powers set out in these Rules."

Section 8. Make existing Section 8 read as : Clause 1. In line 1, delete the words "and Rules." Add the following clause :—

2. The Rules shall not be altered or amended (after the Annual Conference, 1933) except :—

(*a*) Every third year at the Annual Conference ; or

(*b*) at any other Annual or Special Conference upon the requisition of two-thirds of the N.A.C., or two-thirds of the Divisional Councils or one-third of the branches of the Party ; or

(*c*) in the event of any Annual or Special Conference adopting any resolution or taking any decision which (1) will involve changes in the Rules of the Party without specifying precisely the nature of those changes, and (2) expressly authorises the N.A.C. to make such alterations or amendments as may be necessary without waiting for the succeeding Annual or Special Conference. In any such case the N.A.C. may alter or amend the Rules as follows :—

(i) Any proposed amendments or alterations must be accepted by two-thirds of the members of the N.A.C. present and voting at an N.A.C. meeting.

(ii) The proposed amendments or alterations shall be circulated to all branches, federations and divisional councils and shall be deemed to be carried unless one-third of the branches or two-thirds of the divisional councils express dissent within two months of such circulation.

(iii) In the event of any such amendments or alterations being so carried, the N.A.C. shall be entitled to fix the date for the operation of the Rules as amended without waiting for the next succeeding Annual or Special Conference.

THE NEW N.A.C.

Chairman :
James Maxton.

Treasurer :
F. W. Jowett.

National Members :
J. Lee, C. Stephen, C. A. Smith, A. Smillie.

Divisional Members :
J. McGovern (Scotland), T. Stephenson (North-East), P. Williams (Yorkshire), S. Leckie (Midlands), G. F. Johnson (E. Anglia), J. Gaster (London and South), K. Spurrell (South West), E. B. James (Wales), E. Sandham (Lancs.).

THE POLICY OF THE I.L.P.

The following statement, adopted by the N.A.C. on August 7th, 1933, was endorsed.

THE PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS.

(a) All the indications are that British Capitalism is in decline. A temporary stabilisation or even a recovery of Capitalism must not be ruled out, but the contradictions of Capitalism are such that the probabilities are that the genera, tendency will be for greater economic pressure of all kinds on the working classl including further deteriorations in the standards of life.

(b) In order to maintain its power when faced by such difficulties, the capitalist class will adopt various devices which will strike at the present practices of capitalist democracy. These devices, however Constitutional, will be in essence Fascist.

(c) The situation may be complicated by the outbreak of war on a large scale, arising either from national antagonisms in Europe, the antagonism of the capitalist Powers to Russia, or the clash of imperialist aims in the Far East or other parts of the world. The course of events may be influenced also by the revolt of subject races, such as the Indian peoples, against imperialist domination.

(d) The development of Russian agriculture and industry on a Socialist basis will considerably influence capitalist conditions. Its success will serve as an example of Socialist construction to the working class of other countries, and Russian exports may seriously threaten British capitalist interests. These influences, combined with the deep-rooted antagonism of capitalist Governments to the Socialism of Russia, may lead to a combination of the capitalist Powers against Russia.

(e) The policy of a revolutionary Socialist Party must be consciously related to the probable developments of capitalist decline, the extension of capitalist dictatorship, and the danger of war and of capitalist combination against Russia, described above, but the party must be sufficiently flexible in mind to adapt its policy to meet other possibilities.

CAPITALIST AND WORKING-CLASS ORGANISATION.

The capitalist class at present controls the whole economic system, and therefore the labour of the working-class. The control is accompanied by control of the Press and every side of life, including the political system. The present Parliamentary institutions constitute an instrument of this capitalist domination, easily adaptable by the capitalist class to the changing circumstances, which continued decline will compel it to meet. The task of the revolutionary Socialist is to wrest the control of the economic system and of the State from the capitalist class and to transfer it to the working class. This can only be achieved through united action by the working class.

The working-class movement now consists of (a) the Trade Unions, the Co-operative organisations, the Labour Party, and the Trade Union Unemployed Associations ; (b) the I.L.P. and C.P., the N.U.W.M., etc. ; and (c) local and industrial organisations, such as Tenants' Defence Committees, Factory Committees, Rank and File Movements, etc. Outside these organisations are vast masses of workers unorganised. The organisational problem of the revolutionary Socialist is to co-ordinate the activity of the working class and to organise

the unorganised in order to make a fit working-class instrument for the immediate struggle and for revolutionary Socialist purpose.

THE POLICY TO MEET THESE DEVELOPMENTS.

(a) Despite the capitalist nature of the present Parliamentary institutions, they are of value as a national platform for the purposes defined in the report on Parliamentary action adopted by the Derby Conference, namely :—

i *A platform for opposing Parliamentary Capitalist inroads on the living standards of the working class and for demonstrating the inability of Capitalism to provide adequate standards of life.*

ii *Agitation.*

iii *Parliamentary "privilege."*

iv *Extracting information.*

v *Occasionally wringing concessions from Parliamentary Capitalism.*

vi *Exposing the futility of the policy of gradualism.*

vii *Using public interest in Parliament for mobilising working-class forces outside it.*

If it were possible to secure a majority of revolutionary Socialists in Parliament this would be important in initiating a revolutionary change. The fact must be faced, however, that it is unlikely that such a majority can be secured in time to meet the probable developments described above, and even if it were, its revolutionary intentions would create a crisis which would require action by the working-class. Parliamentary activity must be linked with a united working-class organisation in the country prepared to act against capitalist dictatorship and war and in the conditions of a revolutionary crisis. An organisation is required which will mobilise all the forces of the working-class for agitation and action. To create this organisation is the most important task of the Socialist Movement.

(b) The first method to give effect to this need is to encourage united action by all sections of the working-class in the immediate struggle. Our co-operation on specific issues as determined by Annual Conferences with the C.P. (revolutionary in outlook like ourselves) must be regarded as a first step in this direction. Whilst the T.U.C., the Labour Party, and the Co-operative Party have rejected the invitation to united action, the declarations of support by a number of national organisations associated with them and the actual participation in united efforts by a number of local organisations indicate the hopes of ultimate success. It is important to press forward these developments in every way, and the National Council will seek the first favourable opportunity of again approaching the Labour Party, the T.U.C., and the Co-operative Party, and of securing the co-operation of further national bodies.

(c) Out of this united effort united organisation will tend to develop. Locally it may take the form of an Anti-War Council or a Tenants' Defence Committee or a united committee to support a local strike, or a joint committee of the I.L.P. and C.P. and other organisations for united effort. In some areas groups of individual workers will come together to further the idea of united action within the organisations to which they are attached. Elsewhere the local committees may consist of representatives of organisations, with groups of individual workers belonging to other organisations closely associated with them.

Such tendencies towards co-ordination should be encouraged with a view to developing them in course of time into definite Workers' Councils, representing all sections of the working class and acting as the instrument of the immediate struggle and of ultimate revolutionary action.

(d) Workers' Councils should be formed only when the organisations prepared to co-operate represent the power of effective working-class action in the locality. The Councils should represent not only such existing organisations as are prepared to co-operate (Trade Councils, Labour Parties, Trade Union branches, Co-operative organisations, the I.L.P., the C.P., N.U.W.M., etc.), but even more importantly, factory committees and street and estate committees which definitely represent the workers where they are employed and live. So far as the existing organisations are concerned, one of the objects of the I.L.P. and the local unity committees or groups should be to encourage support of Workers' Councils through the affiliated Trade Union branches, etc. The factory committees should represent all classes of workers in a factory, whether they belong to one Union or more ; such committees are necessary where Trade Union organisation is not definitely for a factory basis, including all the workers, and where control is not effectively in the hands of such workers. The street and estate committees should, from the outset, be linked together in action with other working-class organisations ; otherwise they tend to become isolated and inoperative. The factory committees and street committees are a direct method of representing the rank and file as contrasted with the bureaucratic and distant control of most of the existing organisations. They should therefore be encouraged wherever I.L.P. personnel and contacts permit, but they should only be established after planned agitation related to grievances which are felt.

(e) Co-operation with the Communist Party has two purposes. It is a beginning of United Action. In certain areas this co-operation has already won the support of many workers uninfluenced by the separate agitation and action of the two organisations. The fact must be faced, however, that in other areas co-operation with the Communist Party has tended to estrange sections of the "official movement." This prejudice can only be met by the temper and activity of the United Action undertaken. If the proper psychological attitude be maintained and service be rendered in the day-to-day struggle—in strikes, in anti-Means Test and anti-rent agitation, etc.—the barriers will be broken down. Secondly, the ultimate formation and, if practicable, one revolutionary party developing from the I.L.P., the revolutionary elements which are arising within the Trades Unions and the Labour Party, and the C.P. The co-operation of the I.L.P. and the C.P. is beginning to unify the revolutionary activity and may well facilitate the creation of a united revolutionary movement.

(f) This conception of policy and organisation demands a strong, active, confident and disciplined I.L.P. Work within the united activities should be regarded as definite I.L.P. work for which members should be responsible to the I.L.P. branches. The organisation of the working-class on a united basis will not operate for the purpose of revolutionary Socialism unless it is influenced by revolutionary socialists. The I.L.P. must develop the personnel capable of this task, finding expression in the Workers' Councils through the Trade Union branches and other organisations as well as through direct representation of the I.L.P. It is equally important that the I.L.P. should be developed if it is to exert a major influence in the creation of the united revolutionary movement of the future. For these reasons the I.L.P. consciously must not be submerged in united activity. There should be a deliberate effort to enrol the revolutionary Socialists with whom contact is made in factories, T.U. branches, etc., as members of the I.L.P. I.L.P. literature must always be kept to the front. Distinct propaganda meetings must be maintained. A proper balnace must be kept between united action and I.L.P. action, and the branch personnel must be used so as to retain efficient officials for the branch itself. The united action should be directed against Fascism, War, the Means Test, etc., and in support of workers in industrial disputes, and in agitation to bring unorganised workers into Trade Unions to develop the rank and file movement, and to encourage effective resistance to capitalist attacks, and similar activities.

I.L.P. workers in Trade Union branches, in factory, mine or yard, should co-operate with Communists and other Left elements in carrying on the policy defined in this memorandum. But such co-operation must not mean a lessening of I.L.P. loyalty or activity. Our members must be conscious of belonging to "THE" Party which will be the spear-head of the united revolutionary movement in this country.

(g) The importance of the contribution which the Trade Union and Labour Party membership will make to the creation of a united revolutionary movement must never be overlooked. The I.L.P. must maintain a constant and vigorous criticism of the Reformism of the Labour Party and Trade Union leadership and must co-operate in developing the rank-and-file Movement, but care must be taken to base it on facts and not personalities, and to express it in such a way that such criticism will not cause a reaction among the members towards the leadership. At the same time every tendency towards a revolutionary policy in the Trade Union Movement and the Labour Party must be welcomed. If leaders falter and compromise, their following is more likely to move towards us if our previous attitude has been encouraging to such a tendency.

(h) Out of activities of this kind will develop the united organisation in the country ready to act in a revolutionary crisis. It cannot be formed by a theoretical expression of its desirability. Its exact form cannot be laid down in detail. Its development in different localities may follow different initiatory forms, according to local circumstances. The essential thing is to encourage united action in the immediate struggle on the widest possible basis. The necessary organisation and determination will only emerge from constant participation in the struggle of the workers—among the unemployed, in the factories, in strikes, in the Trade Union movement, in rent agitation, etc., etc. The I.L.P. must be so alert in the local working-class movement, and so in touch with the life of the workers, that wherever grievances develop or struggles occur its members and organisation are always on the spot to give a lead. It must be particularly active in the unemployed workers, the Anti-War, and the rank-and-file Trade Union movements. It recognises that changes in Trade Union leadership and in organisation are necessary, and must maintain its criticism of reformism, seek to develop organisation on the basis of a factory unit, and encourage the development of the rank-and-file movement. It must, however, carry on this necessary agitation and organisation, using every endeavour to avoid splitting the movement. In some of the Unions agitation may secure a change in policy and organisation from within. If this is resisted to a point of endangering the unity of the organisation, careful consideration should be given to the consequences of a split before any decisive action is taken. In view of its hampering effect upon I.L.P. activity within the Trade Unions the payment of the political levy be made permissive.

(i) The I.L.P. should recognise the importance of the Co-operative Movement both in the immediate struggle and for the ultimate purposes of revolutionary Socialism. Its members should be active within the Co-operative Movement, advocating its participation in united action and eventually in Workers' Councils, and in maintaining the revolutionary Socialist attitude. In the Co-operative Societies themselves, I.L.P. members should, so far as personnel is available, participate in movements to maintain wage standards, extend workers' control, reduce prices and dividends, as well as utilising the Co-ops. to assist the workers in local struggles and to educate the members as to the revolutionary function of the Movement.

(j) Whilst the struggle is proceeding in the factories, among the unemployed, in the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Movement, the I.L.P. should participate as fully as possible in political activity—both Parliamentary and Municipal. In addition to the advantages of Parliamentary representation as laid down in (a), the national platform provided by the House of Commons and the

public attraction of the designation M.P. enable the I.L.P., through its Parliamentary group, to give a lead to the working-class Movement which may be of the greatest importance and influence in the struggle and in a revolutionary crisis. Municipal politics should be regarded in a similar way. Rightly used, it can be made a means of considerable influence in Unemployment and Housing agitation, etc., in assisting the efforts towards united action, and in developing a revolutionary Socialist attitude.

(k) Parliament and Municipal candidatures should be run by the I.L.P. wherever it is considered desirable, in consultation, if necessary, with other working-class organisations with which it is associated locally in united activities. When Workers' Councils are established, the method of adopting candidates will require reconsideration.

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